/59 cont./

595 From this list of families one gains the impression that monogamy predominates. But I was assured by my informants that those warriors who thus far have only one wife would be glad to take a second or even a third one, as was customary among their forefathers. The small number of persons in the tribes, however, has caused a shortage of women, so that most of the men are forced to be content with one spouse.

619 /60/ 3. Political Structure

These low population figures could, moreover, arouse the suspicion that it is not tribes, but only tribal divisions that are involved here, especially on account of the connubium in which they live, or merely groups. The chiefs and war chiefs named, however, told me emphatically that the Surára as well as the Pakidái were formerly large and mighty and distributed in many malokas. [185] They regard achieving this size again as a goal worth striving for.

622 An institutional chiefdom with a definitely established succession prevails in both tribes. If the chief dies, his next younger brother automatically takes his place. Only if the youngest brother is dead may the first-born son of the oldest brother, who by that time is usually an older man, occupy the office of chief.

624 701 In addition there is the war chief. This position is not hereditary; rather, the bravest warrior is chosen for it. During peacetimes he has no prerogatives whatever and lives like an ordinary member of the tribe. Only during military encounters does he take over the [622] leadership, while the real chief, as religious head, doctor, and teacher, is protected and does not take part; the same is true for his brothers.

622 159 The Surára chief Hewemão, very bold and intelligent, is a truly great personality; his orders are respected by all members of the tribe without opposition. When he was still a youth, his father, Xoromão, was killed with two arrow shots by Makuxí /Macusi/ Indians. Hewemão eldest brother, Xaraíma, assumed the succession, but he died of a fever about eight years ago.

/64 cont./
this is likewise understandable, considering their significance, though the least possible loss of blood may also have been a consideration" (324).

324. Strebel, 1885, p. 13.

On the other hand, with regard to the Surára and Pakidái it should be noted that there is no circumcision of boys among them and the defloration of small girls unequivocally serves for later sexual intercourse; there are no religious motives or hygienic reasons connected with it. Whether this was different in former times neither the chiefs nor older men and women were able to say (325a).

325a. It is an interesting fact that among the Itälmen on Kamchatka little girls are deflowered at a very tender age by their mothers in the same manner as among the Surára and Pakidái and for the same reason (Stellers, 1774, p. 346).

This type of body deformation has been documented for China and Indonesia too. It is done there, however, for hygienic purposes, in order to remove the mucus which gathers in the genitalia (Ploss, 1912, pp. 218/19).

It should be mentioned further that all Surára and Pakidái fathers often touch the vulva of their small daughters with the mouth and gently suck on it.

If a man has two or more wives, they help each other in caring for a baby. The grandmother, a sister, or the eldest daughter are also loving helpers. Infant care, of course, does not require much trouble, for regular baths are unknown. It is only when the crust of dirt is a little too thick that the mother washes it off a bit when she goes to fetch water from the river. The infrequent washing has the advantage that the skin is more nearly invulnerable to mosquito bites. If the child's nose is not

Surára
Pakidái

595 /66 cont./

The Surára chief has two wives, a third one died, and the Pakidái chief, who is still comparatively young, has one. Various other men also have two or more wives. If the husband dies, these women, without being able to decide for themselves, are taken on, along with their children, by one of his brothers, the younger one as a rule, even if he is already married.

587

835 Bachelors have the right to sexual intercourse with the wives of their older brothers, and thus the children of these women do not call them uncle, but likewise father.

881 h) Puberty rites for girls

At nine to ten years old, the Surára and Pakidái children have already reached maturity, which is probably related to the fact that these Indians live in the hot, humid rain forests of the equatorial zone. There are no initiation rites for boys. A girl, [302] on the other hand, at the onset of her first period, is kept isolated in a circular pen 3-4 meters in diameter, which is erected a short distance from the maloka; her entire body is painted with urucú, a red plant pigment. Here the little one must sit motionless and receives only once a day from her mother a calabash of banana soup and a second one of water. In the evening she is brought into the communal house, so that she can lie down to sleep there, but neither parents and siblings nor other members of the tribe may 881 speak to her. The next morning she is put back in the pen. During 304 the second day her mother or another woman applies a pinpoint tattoo above her upper lip, which extends downward on either [413] side of the mouth to the chin. The tattooing instrument is a [824] pointed thorn of the pupunha palm. This is dipped into the dirty- [386] gray juice of the genipap fruit, which, after the skin is punctured, leaves a dark blue dot. This procedure is extremely painful for the [147] little girls. Yet they bear it with passive faces, suppress their tears, and do not utter a sound. With this tattooing, all the evil, mysterious forces which are in the menstrual blood, and which might bring danger to the husband, are banished for the rest of a woman's life. 881 With the second onset of the period, too, a girl is again isolated, and after that a small celebration takes place.

/68 cont./

755 884 886 hopping, etc. The other members of the tribe pay no attention to such prayers and magic performances. Only the chiefs and their student helpers sometimes listen more carefully. Then it sometimes happened that Hewemão would shake his head and tell me that this or that man was praying all wrong, he had undoubtedly not paid sufficient attention during the lessons. If he notes such deficiencies often, it may happen that he will request the man in question to take part in another two-month training course in order to increase his knowledge.

756 171 There is evidence that this type of training, in similar form, occurs among the Jívaro, where prospective shamans receive instruction for one month, in the course of which the neophyte must also fast and drink various drugs, including tobacco juice and cayapi. The training costs, however, are very high (329).

329. Stirling, 1938, pp. 117/18.

756 884 For the young Surára and Pakidái men the instruction is free, to be sure, but mandatory.

834 833 j) Sex life

The behavior of the sexes toward each other in public is extraordinarily decent. Kisses, embraces, or other manifestations of affection are unknown to them. Physical demonstrations of love are carried out in the forest, away from the maloka, or in the dark of night when it is assumed that the other members of the tribe are sleeping. Hunting expeditions also offer a favorable opportunity, for the wife occasionally accompanies her husband. [595] Since some men have two wives, they go hunting in turn with the first and with the second.

843 837 [593] If a woman is pregnant, she is supposed to come together frequently with other men, for it is believed that only through this can her child become stronger. It must occur in all secrecy, however, for if her husband surprises her during coitus with a lover, he challenges the latter to a stick duel, and she herself will be abused by him (330).

330. Becher, 1959, p. 162.

Surára
Pakidái

/116 cont./

123 touched me all over my body, and they examined my spectacles with particular interest (557) and were very astonished at my

557. The Surára chief was so enthusiastic about my spectacles that he asked me to be sure to bring him a pair on my next visit.

blond hair and blue eyes. When I shaved, I was likewise surrounded by a circle of spectators (558). Even when I had to re-

558. Similar experiences were had by Chaffanjon among the Kunuaná (Chaffanjon, 1889, pp. 267/68), Koch-Grünberg among the Taulipang and Makuxí /Macusi/ (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 360), and Baldus among the Tapirapé (Baldus, 1956b, p. 606).

lieve myself, I was asked where I was going, and often I was joined by companions.

191 When the Surára and Pakidái see something new for the first time or if they like an object particularly well, they
521 manifest their approval by loud clickings. They love conversation above all else, and even at night they go on talking for
[576] hours. They never interrupt each other, however.

593 Though the man is the head of the family, the wife is
692 regarded as his partner with equal rights, without whose advice he does not undertake anything important. If he has two or
595 more wives, the youngest usually leads a princess's existence, for which even the older ones must contribute. Mistreatment
593 of women occurs only on account of adultery and for reasons of jealousy. But if a man beats his wife or draws blood on her body with the little cutia-tooth knife, several companions of her own sex immediately hasten to her aid. They try to pin down the arms of the angry man, and one woman will attempt to seize his scrotum and squeeze it with all her might, so that

/216 cont./

584 There are cases in which a brother or a friend of the suitor wishes to serve as intermediary and offers to speak to the father-in-law. The gesture is very well received and highly appreciated.

585 583 During the first two or three days the young husband remains in the forest /217/ hunting; the woman hangs her hammock near that of her husband in the house of the family of orientation, [476] that is, where she has always lived. This time having elapsed, the man tries to bring together some twenty friends to help him clear the land for the three conucos requested by his father-in-law. Usually he has no difficulty in finding this help. The father of the boy and his brothers do their best to feed the workers well, and, when the work is done, the young husband offers them as presents arrows, bows, etc. which they refuse to accept. Later, the man begins to clear some conucos for his own family.

584 627 Our informant from the upper Caura insisted that, once consent has been obtained, delivery is definite and the girl cannot then accept any other young man. In order to give us an example, he told us what had happened to a man of his group.

A girl had accepted him as a husband, but, because of unforeseen circumstances, he had not had time to talk to the father-in-law. Then the girl surrendered to another young man and married him. The father-in-law knew nothing about the first offer. One day the people of the pueblo found the young couple in their hammock pierced by two arrows poisoned with curare. The murderer informed the father-in-law and the inhabitants of the rancheria of the motive which had caused him to perpetrate the crime. Neither the father-in-law nor the people intervened in the matter, for, according to them, the young lover was right in punishing the two who had deceived him in this way.

584 595 881 Sometimes parents marry off their children before they reach maturity. Some men also take a second wife when she is still underage, but they respect them and have no sexual contact with them until after the first menstrual periods have passed.

/217 cont./

606 The husband helps economically the family of orientation of his wives, supplies them with produce from the conuco, but dealings with his wife's parents are reduced the most indispensable ones. When he meets his mother-in-law on the path, he changes his direction immediately, does not greet her, and would not dare to speak to her for anything. Between father-in-law and son-in-law there exists a cold friendship from which all manifestations of cordiality are absent. The same taboo exists between parents-in-law and daughter-in-law.

836 The Sanemá of the Erebato assured us that an unmarried young man could have sexual relations with all the unattached girls of his group and that very often the girls are the ones who [584] take the initiative in this. When a boy is attractive, he joins up with one or two girls, who /218/ in all frankness and good faith ask him to stay with them for a few nights more, offer him food, and hope that he will resolve to ask one of them to marry him.

593 It seems that in general women do not abandon their hus-
937 bands and confidently expect the spouse to behave in the same manner and not have extramarital sexual relations.

593 Frequently angry fights arise in the family out of passional
586 motives, to the point where the man no longer tolerates it and leaves the rancheria forever and eventually marries another woman in a distant pueblo.

595 Usually, only older men have several wives; polyandry
587 is not permitted. Widows, as a general rule, marry a brother of
607 the deceased husband, who takes his nieces and nephews under
[836] his protection. This custom does not cause any great problems, since the brother of the deceased has already had sexual intercourse with his sisters-in-law before marrying them, for he has
587 always considered them as possible wives. Nor do the children
593 find it difficult to accept their new father, whom they have al-
[601] ways called "father" and he has called them "children." In
[184] this way the Sanemá (and also the Waica, Surará, and Pakidai) are a society which allows polygamy, the sororate, and the levirate.

/218 cont./

595 We have mentioned that an adult may marry a very young girl, but must not have sexual relations with her until after the first menstrual periods. We do not base our observation on the practice of polygyny among the Sanemá in isolated cases, but rather on the fact that several men have several adult wives at the [554] same time. It does not seem that polygyny is an exclusive privilege of status or rank, but rather is an accepted thing, since [584] all adults may marry two or more women. Since there seems to be some scarcity of marriageable girls, the custom of binding oneself to a little girl can be looked upon as a form of foresightedness [587] by the man, with a view to the future. Many polygynous marriages, however, probably stem from the custom of the levirate.

587 765 There are widows who marry very shortly after the death of their husbands; others, however, wait for many months. They live in the house of their brother-in-law or in that of their parents, and it seems that the future husband does not demand that they cease mourning since the person mourned and for whom they weep was not only their husband but also the brother of the new suitor.

If the brother (who is very often the youngest) does not want to or cannot /219/ marry all the widows of his deceased brother, he allows them to live with another man. These marriages take place only after some time, during which the brother of the deceased and the women live apart from the society in a sort of isolation.

587 There are no differential rules for secondary marriages, but the father of sisters has the right to prevent both of them from marrying the same man, particularly if the man, owing to his poor preparation or deficiency, cannot give assurance of the economic help which he expects from him. This explains why only older men with greater experience in life are able to marry several women with ease.

595 The wives of one man may live under the same roof or in several houses, and, in spite of there being no fixed rotation, the husband must devote the same amount of time, more or less, to each of his homes.

St Laytime et al. D, E-S (ca. 1980)1982 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

Waica,[9] there seems to be a strong tendency towards bilocality. Although bilocal extended families are relatively rare,[10] their existence among the semi-nomadic Yanoama could very well be possible, since there do not exist any decisive economic factors which could strongly favor unilocal residence. Among the Sanemá of the Caura (incipient agriculturists) we have observed initial matrilocal with subsequent patrilocal residence and a rather formal initiation of common residence of the spouses. Polygyny is permitted and young girls are frequently married to men even before their first menstruation. The kinship system is of the Hawaiian type.

Local groups follow the suggestions of a headman in peacetime and receive orders from a war chief in wartime. There appear to exist at least two and possibly three different religious-medical practitioners among some of the subtribes, who (*hāwīawan*) represent their community at the court of a deified Culture Hero, who (*sabli*) regulate the groups' relationship to a host of animal and plant spirits, and who (*kāilala*) cure physical ailments of mainly non-supernatural origin.[11] The *sabli* (shaboliwa) seems to be the most important practitioner of the Waica, among whom the *hāwīawan* has not been observed.

Physical appearance. Two authors have recently reported on the occurrence of a great phenotypical variation among the Sanemá (Samatari)[12] and among the Waica.[13] They mention four different types with more or less specific physical features:

a. A minority pygmoid type with a general stature of less than 130 cm, light skin, fine-cut faces with a gay expression, small hands and small feet.
b. Relatively tall type, dark skinned, robust, stout, and with a wild facial expression.
c. Type of medium stature, round-headed, with a feminine expression, small nose, small mouth, and yellowish clay-colored skin. Some individuals have wavy hair and brown instead of black eyes.
d. "Mongoloid" and "semi-Tartaric" type with almond-shaped eyes, frowning expression, protruding forehead and pointed chin, thin beard, slim, and of medium stature.

We shall return to this observation in a later chapter.

9 Barlow, 1933, p. 478.
10 Murdock, 1949, p. 35.
11 Wilbert, 1961a.
12 Vinci, 1976, pp. 124-125.
13 Zerries, 1976.

/478 cont./

628 728 been killed, might require a greater number of years to be reconciled. Disputes which have reached the proportions of regional wars are rarely forgotten within the same generation, since there is hardly any neutral settlement left by means of which peace negotiations can be made.

The Family

591 606 A newly married couple may live in the settlement of the wife's parents or in that of the husband's parents. But if they decide to live in the settlement of the wife's parents, they cannot live in the same dwelling with them, because it is prohibited (taboo) for the husband to approach his mother-in-law. He can enter her house only when she is outside. He would not dare to come any closer to her than three or four meters. If the couple decides to live with the husband's parents, there are no such restrictions, since there is no prohibition against the daughter-in-law approaching her mother-in-law. Even suitors customarily lodge on the side opposite that of the house of their future mother-in-law, in their town.

595 [578] The majority of the men have but one wife. Those who wish to, and are able to, may have two or more wives. This practice makes more acute the shortage of marriageable women and may be one of the principal causes of the fights over wives which are started by men who have remained without any.

When a man has more than one wife, his wives may live in the same house or in several houses in a row. They work together, but each one has her own property. Frequently they are sisters since a man is more likely to marry the sister of his wife than to find another wife elsewhere.

593 Within the family it is the man who exercises authority. I only know of one case where the woman gives orders in the house, and this because her husband is mentally deficient.

9:Greller K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Guaharibo,

123 From the second day onwards their audacity began to become a nuisance. Pots, pans, empty boxes, string, knives and, of course, machetes, constantly excited their greed and began to disappear, to be concealed among the rocks at the foot of the hills. From then on we had to keep our stores, bags and dixies under lock and key. During the daytime they roamed about the camp, driven by curiosity to see so much that was new, but with the night they would again herd together round their [152] fires at the water's edge. They were very jealous of their women-folk and paid them the most touching attention. One [758] of the women was frequently shaken by violent fits of coughing and each time her mate would bring her a gourd of water he had drawn from the river and support her while she drank. When the coughing started again, the poor man's face would take on an expression of powerless solicitude.

595 As far as I could discover the Guaharibos are monogamous 162 and their women are definitely in the minority—as evidenced by the present group of nine men and two women. When, by 578 means of signs and gestures, we asked the unattached males 684 whether they had no wives, the answer was in each case in the negative. Cardona told us that the most common cause of 838 quarrels among them is raping of the women. We thought that homosexuality was also probably common practice. We 201 had no actual proof of this, but saw many instances of ges- 123 tures—usually among themselves, but occasionally directed at us—which were, to say the least, equivocal. To the Guaharibos such gestures were obviously natural and proper behaviour.

123 In order to watch their reactions we fired a few rounds of 441 ammunition. Accustomed to the silence of the forest and trained to hear the least rustle of sound, they betrayed instant terror. Clapping their hands over their ears, they fled. We invited them to demonstrate their own weapons. They handled their powerful bows with astonishing ease and accuracy and could send their light arrows, five to six feet long and made of straight reed stems, nearly a hundred yards. With a termite hill some eighteen inches high and twelve inches across as target, they hit it consistently from fifty yards. Shooting

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

YANOMAMO WARFARE, SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND MARRIAGE ALLIANCES

By Napoleon Alphonseau Chagnon

The purpose of this analysis is to show that the large discrepancy (over 50%) between ideal marriage rules and actual marriage practice among the Yanomamö Indians of Southern Venezuela is necessitated by the politico-military milieu within which marriages are contracted. The data covered in this thesis were collected from November 1964 through February 1966 during which time the author lived with these Indians. Inter-village warfare was chronic while the field work was conducted. All the data were obtained from the Yanomamö in their language.

Census data on five Yanomamö villages are presented to show that the male/female sex ratio is high. The shortage of women, initially caused by female infanticide, is complicated further by the practice of polygyny and coitus taboos and is shown to be the basis of both internal and inter-village fighting. Detailed historical data on village movements and warfare, collected from native informants and amplified by case materials on specific events that the author witnessed, are given to demonstrate the correlation of warfare to the shortage of women.

The imbalanced sex ratio is also shown to be the basis of competition between co-residential patrilineal descent groups, and how the members of these ally themselves to other, patrilineal, local descent groups in order to maximize the number of women to which each group's members have access. When intra-village feuding over women becomes particularly intense, larger villages are shown to fragment into smaller, independent villages whose initial composition resembles a dual organization of inter-marrying patrilineal descent groups. Genealogical data in both sociological and

[Introductory, R ii]

is allied to another which can provide it with more military assistance and desirable trade goods than the former can give to the latter, an imbalance in the exchanges of women will follow. The imbalance will favor the village that, for reasons of size and of existing military patterns, least needs the military aid of the other.

The character of Yanomamö warfare is not as intimately related to village size as might be expected, although, of course, larger villages are best able to conduct warfare successfully over a long period of time from one location. Larger villages are less likely to be forced to abandon their location because of raids from smaller groups, whereas smaller groups are markedly vulnerable in this respect. Nevertheless, no one village is large enough to withstand successfully military pressures from a cluster of smaller, allied villages, and, therefore, the members of all villages seek defensive alliances with their neighbors. Such alliances are based on the exchange of women.

Other demographic factors, in addition to sheer size of villages, affect marriage practices. The ratio of males to females, for example, is high, partly because of the practice of female infanticide. Moreover, the shortage of women is compounded by other factors; sexual intercourse is prohibited with pregnant women and those who have nursing children, and polygyny causes an unequal distribution of the available women. It would be difficult to exaggerate the consequences for Yanomamö social organization of this single

838 unmarried young men in Bisaasi-tedi were having homosexual
863 relationships with each other, but no stigma was attached to this behavior. In fact, most of these bachelors joked about it and simulated copulation with each other in public. The men involved in these affairs, however, were hardly more than teenagers; I have no cases of adult men satisfying their
836 sexual needs by homosexuality. By the time a young man is
859 20 to 25 years old, his sexual interests focus on women, and he is constantly attempting to establish liaisons with women,
[564] whether or not they have husbands. In some respects, a man's
[627] status depends on his ability to successfully carry on
[578] clandestine affairs which, when discovered, force him into
[64] club-fights. The number of scars he has on his scalp is a
[554] measure of his sexual prowess.

593 Rarely, a man will permit his brother to have sexual
835 relations with his wife. In the village of Mɘmaribɘwei-tedi
732 there is an achodroplastic dwarf, Yoyosiwɨ. Being 'ugly' (wanidiwɨ), he can not find a wife. One of his normal brothers permits him sexual access to his own wife. In general, however, men are jealous of their adult brothers
595 and do not permit such affairs. Occasionally, if a man has
593 several wives, the wives themselves may put pressure on the husband to give one of them to the man's younger brother; co-wives, too, are capable of being jealous of each other and often resent having to share food, particularly meat. Several young men in Bisaasi-tedi have obtained their wives from older brothers because the latter could not keep peace

595 in the family. The transfer of the woman from the older to
593 the younger brother was, in some of the cases, quite gradual. Thus, Kaobawë gave Hantoami to his younger brother, Shadadama, because his other two wives complained about not having enough game to eat. Kaobawë continued to have sexual relationships with Hantoami after she had become Shadadama's wife, and sired two of her children.

628 Another form of permitted affair is called nohimou--
722 "to befriend" or "act like a friend" to a woman. This type
836 of relationship might occur, for example, when the members
837 of a village have to take refuge with an ally. The allies invariably enter into nohimou relationships with the women of the refugees. The refugees are reluctant to give their women as wives to the men of the host village, but they are obliged to permit them to have sexual access to the women. These kinds of affairs also develop within a village between a man and the wife of a friend, or, with single girls. Again,
628 when men go on visits to other villages and bring trade goods,
594 they frequently are permitted to have affairs with the hosts'
838 women, particularly if the men have brought goods that are
839 highly prized by the hosts.
836

835 Incestuous affairs between classificatory siblings are quite common.[1] One of my female informants used husband

[1]Incest, to the (male ego) Yanomamö, is any sexual relationship with a member of one's lineage or with mother, mother's sister, mother's mother, and mother's sister's daughter. Failure to avoid a woman of the mother-in-law category is also incestuous in the eyes of the Yanomamö, but only if the woman is sexually active. Menopausal women of

884 personal names provides an adequate excuse to exhibit rage and ferocity.

593 621 Personal relationships between brothers, therefore, tends to be one of mutual respect and reserve when the brothers reach adulthood. Age, however, confers a certain amount of status in Yanomamö society, and an older man can command a younger adult brother to do tasks for him, provided their ages are considerably different. An older brother is expected to defend a young sibling in fights and assist him [583] in obtaining a wife. A number of young men in Bisaasi-tedi [595] obtained wives from polygynous older brothers. Young men, on the other hand, assist and support older brothers more willingly than they will a brother of similar age, as siblings of similar age deliberately demonstrate that they can not be bossed around by an equal.

*621 602 591 Co-residence influences the strength of the tie between distant agnates in some instances. If, for example, a man has no close agnates in a village but there is a group of more distantly related agnates, the man tends to be absorbed *[628] as an equal in that group. In fact, he may be affectively closer to his co-residential agnates despite genealogical distance than to close genealogical agnates who live in other *621 villages. Upper Bisaasi-tedi, for example, is led by Kaobawä 613 of the Sha lineage. All agnates in his following are at least one 602 591 degree of blood removed from him[1] but they behave as if they were [622]

[1]See Figure 3, "Upper Bisaasi-tedi, Chapter IV.

128 extending the model one more generation, maintaining the pattern already shown in the model, the numbers of individuals included in the new figure would approach the size of a small Yanomamö village. But, by extending the model one generation, we begin to put stress on one of the relationships, the tie between agnates of the same age, if we simultaneously introduce additional factors such as a sex ratio greater than 1.0.

121 913 895 583 836 837 I can illustrate the same stress in Figure 1 by assuming that polygyny occurs. Presume that individual $A_{2.1}$ is older than his brother and is given both of the daughters of $B_{1.2}$ for his wives. As individual $A_{2.2}$ gets older, he will have no sexual alternative but to seek liaisons with the wives of his older brother, as all other women in the diagram stand in incestuous relationship to him. In Figure 1 $A_{2.1}$ and $A_{2.2}$ are drawn as full brothers. When situations of this sort occur, the older brother may give one of his wives to the younger brother, or at least permit him to have sexual relationships with one of

123 162 602 562 598 them until he procures his own wife. If, however, we extend Figure 1 by another generation and specify the same conditions in Generation 3, the males involved are one degree of relationship more remote from each other. Were we to introduce the factor of woman shortage in addition to polygyny, the rivalry between agnates for the women in Generation 3 would increase accordingly, and fighting would likely result: distantly related agnates of the same age are ambiguously related to each other regarding both the disposition of women and acquisition of women for spouses.

Moiyoawë had two wives, Borehima and her older sister, Kumaiema. Borehima thought she was being treated badly by her husband and deserted him, taking refuge with another man, Makerawë. Moiyoawë attempted to get his wife back from Makerawë, precipitating a club fight between two factions of the village. During the club fight, Makerawë stabbed Moiyoawë with the sharp end of his club, wounding him badly. This enraged the leader of Moiyoawë's faction, Rakoiwë, who then attacked Makerawë, running him through with a sharpened club, killing him. Makerawë's faction fled from Patanowë-tedi and joined their relatives in Monou-tedi, knowing that the latter would welcome their assistance in future raids against the Patanowë-tedi. The Monou-tedi, assisted by the Patanowë-tedi refugees, raided the Patanowë-tedi two times shortly after the refugees joined them. On the second raid they caught two Patanowë-tedi men hunting outside the village. They killed one of them, but let the second one go, as he was Kgabëwë's actual son by a previous marriage and they did not want to risk a war with the Bisaasi-tedi by killing this man, Shinabewë. In a recent letter from James P. Barker, I learned that a part of the refugee faction joined Bisaasi-tedi.

The woman over whom the internal feud started was taken away from Makerawë's group. Moiyoawë cut both her ears off to punish her.

contributes to the reduction in the intensity of warfare. This stems from the fact that the Caribs have long had access to firearms, and the Yąnomamö avoid attacking Carib villages. It is not likely that Yąnomamö villages settled close to or among Caribs would be raided by other Yąnomamö, for the Caribs would either defend their co-residents or provide them with firearms to retaliate. Certainly, I know of no cases of Yąnomamö villages mounting raids on other Yąnomamö who live near or among Carib Indians.

Throughout the thesis I have emphasized the causal relationship between the shortage of women and the development of hostilities within and between villages. The same relationship appears to hold in the Uraricaá area, as the following incident illustrates. The missionaries discovered that one of the Yąnomamö women had two husbands. They felt that this was an unacceptable situation and persuaded the woman that she should abandon one of the men. This man then could not find another eligible woman of the appropriate age and relationship to marry, so he organized a party of men to accompany him on a wife-hunting trip to a neighboring, but unrelated, village. On arriving he informed the people that he had come to teach them a new and powerful institution, prayer, which he had learned from the missionaries. He had his hosts kneel and bow their heads; then he and his companions fell upon them with machetes and killed them. The visitors seized the hosts' women and fled. In an area where warfare is rare, this incident indelibly underscores the

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142
301
302
516

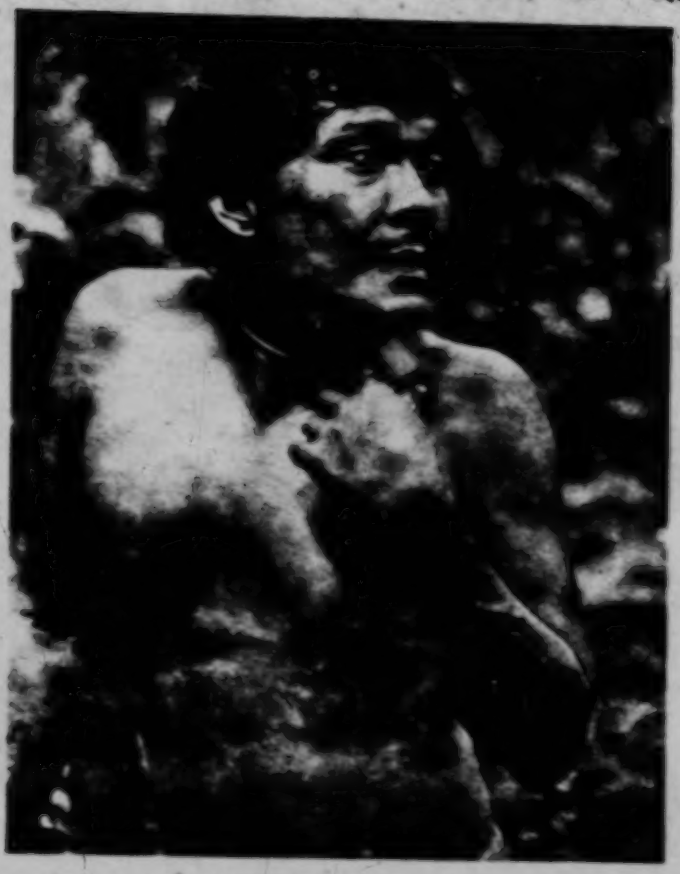

Fig. 1-3. Kaobawä, the area leader, listens to identify a strange noise in the jungle.

I spent a good deal of time with these two men and their families and got to know them well. They frequently gave their information in a way which related themselves to the topic under discussion. We became very close friends. I will speak of them frequently in the following chapters, using them as "typical" Yąnomamö, if, indeed, one may speak of typical anything. I will briefly comment on what these men are like and their respective statuses in the village.

Kąobawä is about 40 years old (Fig. 1-3). I say "about" because the Yąnomamö numeration system has only three numbers: one, two, and more-than-two. He is the headman of Upper Bisasi-teri. He has had five or six wives so far and temporary affairs with as many more women, one of which resulted in a child. At the present time he has just two wives, Bahimi and Koamashima. He has had a daughter and a son by Bahimi, his eldest and favorite wife. Koamashima, about 20 years old, recently had her first child, a boy (Fig. 1-4). Kąobawä may give Koamashima to his youngest brother. Even now the brother shares in her sexual services. Kąobawä recently gave his third wife to another of his brothers because she was beshi: "horny." In fact, this girl had been married to two

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that is, the marriage of individuals 1 and 2 of the third generation. Although the ten examples are given primarily to illustrate the marriage of individuals of the most recent generation (3 or 4, depending on the number of generations in each example), in some cases additional marriages in ascending generations will be discussed. The point to remember for the time being is that the genealogies should be looked at from the most recent generation; the marriage pattern can be more readily seen in this fashion.

Case A: This exemplifies the *matrilateral cross-cousin* marriage, sometimes called MoBrDa marriage. Here, the Yąnomamö category *suáöya* corresponds exactly with our biological translation to MoBrDa. The man in question (III–1) would have called the woman *suáöya* whether or not he married her. Similarly, she would have addressed him by the term for husband: *hąmöya*.

The marriage of III–1 to III–2 in this case also exemplifies *patrilateral cross-cousin* marriage, for the woman is related to her husband as FaSiDa as well. This is so because individuals II–1 and II–4 are siblings (brother and sister to each other) because their own fathers, in turn, were brothers. (Individual I–2 was an *adopted* brother to I–3, hence the broken sibling line connecting them.) When an individual marries a woman who is simultaneously his FaSiDa and MoBrDa, he is said to marry his *bilateral cross-cousin*. Case A illustrates the preferred form of marriage, for the man does not have to avoid his wife's parents as stringently as he would were they related to him in a different fashion. When a man's father-in-law is his MoBr, he is on extremely intimate terms with him and can even make jokes at his expense. The intimacy of the relationship between a man and his MoBr was brought home to me very indelibly on one occasion. A group of Patanowä-teri men visited Kąobawä, although their two villages were at war. One of the visitors was Kąobawä's wife's brother. After this man rested in a hammock for a few minutes, he got up and found Ariwari, Kąobawä's son. Ariwari was the visitor's sister's son. He played with him in the hammock and hugged him intimately (see Fig. 3–3). Ariwari fell asleep in his arms. This took place in spite of the fact that the visitors were in danger of being killed by other members of Kąobawä's group and narrowly escaped death on their previous visit. (See the section "Division of Labor and Daily Social Life" later in this chapter for a description of the incident.)

Case B: This illustrates the same kind of marriage that took place in Case A, except that the parents of the married people are half-siblings to each other. The Yąnomamö do not distinguish half-siblings from full siblings, so this situation is identical, as far as they are concerned, to the marriage in case A.

Case B also illustrates *several polygyny*: III–1 married two women who were related to each other as sisters.

Finally, it should be noted that the father of the man in question married a sister to individual II–3. They stood in wife-giver/wife-receiver relationship to each other and so do their children.

Case C: This illustrates the *patrilateral cross-cousin* marriage, that is, the FaSiDa marriage. Like the MoBrDa marriage, it is preferred because the man does not have to avoid his wife's parents. It is considered to be incestuous for a man to be familiar with his wife's mother if the woman is still sexually active. Hence, he must avoid her. If she is his FaSi, however, incest prohibitions pertaining to that kinswoman would automatically call forth appropriate behavior on his part, and the avoidance taboo is not stringent.

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606 123 [551] The avoidance taboo prohibits a man from saying his mother-in-law's name. My informants would be extremely embarrassed when I would say the name of their mother-in-law while collecting genealogies. Kaobawä, for example, would grin sheepishly and hide his head. Men must also avoid their mothers-in-law physically and should not look at them. If I took a group of people for a ride in my canoe, there would always be considerable shuffling of bodies so that the men could be situated in the canoe as far away from their mothers-in-law as possible.

128 602 595 Finally, case C illustrates another kind of sororal polygyny: Individuals III-1 and III-3 are sisters to each other because their mothers are sisters. (The equation stating that children of siblings of the same sex are themselves siblings extends indefinitely in the case of males, but breaks down in the case of females after two generations. This is because descent is patrilineal.)

128 582 602 *Case D:* This also is a case of FaSiDa marriage: I-2 and I-3 were brothers, so one of the parents of each of the third generation individuals were brother and sister to each other. Hence, III-1 married his FaSiDa.

Case E: The marriage of III-1 to III-2 is similar to the marriage in case D, but his 128 595 602 marriage to the second wife, III-3, illustrates the use of another kinship equation. She is an actual sister to the first wife, but does not stand in the FaSiDa relationship to her husband. If one of the sisters is FaSiDa, however, then all of them are in Yąnomamö kinship usage.

128 582 602 [601] *Case F:* This illustrates how affinal ties replace consanguineal ties should the two conflict. III-1 can trace a blood tie to his wife, one that would prevent him from marrying her, but the affinal ties between his own father and the father of his wife permit him to marry according to the prescription. Individual III-1 would call all of his father's wives "mother." Hence, his own wife is, technically, MoBrDa.

128 582 587 602 *Case G:* This illustrates a number of marriage rules stated in the preceding examples. I present it as a sort of exercise to reinforce the logic of the Yąnomamö kinship equations given above. Individual II-6 married two brothers, II-5 and II-7, illustrating the *levirate:* the marriage between a man and his brother's widow. Individual II-9 married his FaSiDa (as in case F). Individuals III-3 and III-4 can marry because their fathers were cross-cousins (see case H, below). Individual III-5 married his FaSiDa, as was shown for the similar marriage in case E. Individual IV-1 married two women, each of whom is his FaSiDa. This is so because I-2 and I-4 were adopted brothers, so that their [597] sons (II-2 and II-4) were also siblings. Hence, IV-1 married his FaSiDa (IV-2) and, as in case E, her sister. His second wife is also FaSiDa because her mother (III-6) was a sister to III-2, since their respective fathers (II-9 and II-2) were (adopted) brothers.

128 582 601 602 *Case H:* This illustrates a very powerful marriage rule: The children of men who call each other *shorinä* (brother-in-law) can marry. Practically speaking, in our kinship terms, the rule is that the children of cross-cousins stand in marriageable relationship to each other. II-2 and II-3 stand in wife-giver/wife-receiver relationship to each other and could exchange sisters in marriage. Their sons stand in the same relationship. Another important feature of Yąnomamö kinship and marriage rules is illustrated here. While III-1 married a woman of the prescribed category, he does not reckon his relationship to her patrilaterally or matrilaterally. That is, she is neither FaSiDa nor MoBrDa, but she is both! This emphasizes the fact that they marry primarily in terms of categories rather than by tracing biological ties, as I have done in the above examples. To the Yąnomamö,

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Upper Bisaasi-teri, and Lower Bisaasi-teri (see Table 1). Politically, they are either the two dominant lineages in each of the above-named villages or one of the two dominant lineages. For example, the headmen of Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri, Kaobawä and Reromawä, respectively, come from the *Sha* lineage. In Patanowä-teri there are two headmen, one from the *Sha* lineage and one from the *Hor* lineage. Finally, in Monou-teri, the headmanship shifted from the *Sha* lineage to the *Hor* lineage in 1965 because the *Sha* headman was killed in a raid by men from Patanowä-teri. I might add that he was killed by men of his own lineage to whom he was related as "brother." After he died, his brother-in-law, of the *Hor* lineage, assumed the leadership. It is not surprising that the headmanship shifted to this large, important group. In terms of sheer numbers, the *Hor* lineage (see Table 3-1) was stronger than the *Sha* lineage in Monou-teri. The distribution of political power within these two lineages underscores the dual organization of most Yanomamö villages.

It is apparent from the foregoing example that the ties between agnates who live in different villages are not necessarily amicable. The most bitter fighting, in fact, takes place between members of different villages who are related to each other agnatically. It is not uncommon for men to kill their classificatory brothers in the ensuing raids. As a consequence of the killing of the Monou-teri headman, for example, the raiders from Monou-teri avenged his death by shooting Boaibrei of Patanowä-teri. The two men who actually killed Boaibrei were related to their victim as brothers. Similarly, Kaobawä himself shot Rakoiwä, the present *Sha* headman of Patanowä-teri, wounding him badly. He had shot to kill even though Rakoiwä was his older (classificatory) brother.

Once the lineage splits up and is redistributed in several villages, the ties between the men of that lineage weaken dramatically. And, as we shall see below, the fissioning of a village is frequently the result of a bitter club fight within the village over the possession of women. The result is that many villages that have a common history are at war with each other due to the nature of the feuds that led to their splitting away from the common village. The Patanowa-teri, for example, are at war with all three of the villages from which they originally separated (see Fig. 3-5, discussed later).

The kinship ties between agnates who live in the same village are likewise quite weak. They are strongest between a man and his younger brothers, for the age differences alone call forth a certain amount of respect and amity. An older man can be expected to aid his younger brothers in fights and help them to secure wives. In some cases, the younger man obtains his wife from a polygynous older brother; some men appear to accumulate extra wives with the intention of passing them on to their younger brothers. Kaobawä, for example, gave one of his wives to a younger brother and will probably give another wife to a second younger brother. (He is presently permitting the brother to share her sexual services.) Kaobawä's older wife, Bahimi, is quite jealous of the co-wives because they can command some of the tasty morsels of food that would otherwise be her own prerogative. And, since the younger wives are more attractive physically, Kaobawä does pay considerable attention to them. In Lower Bisaasi-teri, one of Kaobawä's classificatory brothers was forced by his older wife to get rid of his young, attractive second wife. The man gave her to an unmarried younger brother. He himself had acquired the younger wife as part of a political alliance he had made with the members of an allied village, knowing at the time that his first wife would object strenuously to the

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TABLE 3-1

VILLAGE COMPOSITION BY LINEAGE MEMBERSHIP*

Lineage	Male	Female	Total
A. Lower Bisasi-teri			
Sha	9	7	16
Tom	9	3	12
Hor	1	2	3
Kio	2	4	6
Shamatari	3	9	12
Other	1	1	2
	25	26	51
B. Upper Bisasi-teri (Kaobawä's group)			
Sha	11	14	25
Hor	8	5	13
Kio	5	11	16
Kah	5	3	8
Shamatari	3	7	10
Other	5	8	13
	37	48	85
C. Monou-teri			
Sha	11	9	20
Hor	15	8	23
Kio	3	3	6
Shamatari	3	9	12
Other	2	3	5
	34	32	66
D. Patanowä-teri			
Hor	58	33	91
Sha	39	29	68
Kah	17	8	25
Kar	1	3	4
Shamatari	2	6	8
Other	5	11	16
	122	90	212

*Revised version of Appendix A, Chagnon 1966.

transaction. Still, he took the girl. When domestic tranquility could no longer be maintained, he passed her on to his younger brother.

The relationship between a man and his brothers of approximately the same age are generally not amicable. Brothers of the same approximate age tend to be jealous of each other and treat one another with considerable reserve and respect. A man can directly ask an immature younger brother to execute some task for him, but he can

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These figures represent a *sample* of marriages in the two villages. The sample consists of all married males who are thirty-five years old or younger. The sample was chosen in this fashion because the analysis of the marriage types depends on genealogical information covering several generations. By selecting only the younger men the analysis can be quite easily undertaken. In Patanowä-teri there were 38 men of this category, many of whom had multiple wives. A man with four wives, therefore, represents four marriages. In Lower Bisaasi-teri only 10 married men were below thirty-five years of age and accounted for the seventeen marriages. If all the men were included, the analysis would be inaccurate because I do not have adequately long genealogies for some of the oldest men. Up to 1940, the villages of Patanowä-teri and Lower Bisaasi-teri were not separate entities; they separated from each other at about that time. Patanowä-teri is a large and powerful village, containing 212 people. Lower Bisaasi-teri, with only 51 people, is militarily dependent on several of its allies.

Four types of marriages are shown in Table 3–2. The term prescriptive refers to the kinds of marriages described in Fig. 3–2. An incestuous marriage is defined as a man marrying a woman of his own patrilineage (or his mother or niece reckoned through his mother's side of the family). Marriages resulting from either alliance or abduction have been lumped into a single category because they represent the recruitment of spouses from outside the group. Finally, a few marriages are unexplainable in terms of Yanomamö kinship and marriage equations; these represent marriages between members of distinct lineages that have recently entered into exchanges with each other.

As can be seen from Table 3–2, there is a major difference between the two villages in the proportion of prescriptive marriages on the one hand and alliance marriages on the other. In short, the Patanowä-teri follow their marriage prescriptions far more rigorously than do the Lower Bisaasi-teri. This is so because Patanowä-teri, a much larger village, does not need to enter into marriage alliances with its neighbors; it is politically and militarily capable of an autonomous existence. Most of the alliance-abduction marriages in Patanowä-teri are, in fact, abductions; in Bisaasi-teri most of them are alliance marriages. Therefore, the relative frequency of alliance-type marriages is much lower for Patanowä-teri than for Lower Bisaasi-teri. This difference in marriage behavior stems from the relative abilities of the two groups to maintain military autonomy in a milieu of chronic warfare, a quality that is largely a function of the size of the group. The members of a militarily vulnerable village will breach the marriage prescriptions in order to establish political alliances with neighboring groups by ceding women to them.

TABLE 3–2
MARRIAGE TYPES IN PATANOWÄ-TERI AND LOWER BISAASI-TERI

	Patanowä-teri	Lower Bisaasi-teri
1. Prescriptive	37	7
2. Incestuous	4	1
3. Alliance and/or abduction	8	9
4. Unexplained	3	0
Totals:	52	17

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When I insisted that she share her food with the child, he ate it ravenously. In short, she was letting the baby die slowly of starvation. I have similar accounts from missionaries who have also witnessed cases such as this.

Male babies are preferred because they will grow up to be warriors and hunters. Most men make known their wishes to have a son—even to the point of insinuating that the wife ought to deliver a male or suffer the consequences. This is always done in a subtle way, usually by displaying signs of anger or resentment at the thought of having a daughter that constantly eats without being potentially an economic asset or guardian of the village. Many women will kill a female baby just to avoid disappointing their husbands. The Yąnomamö also practice abortion in a very crude but effective way. The pregnant woman will lie on her back and have a friend jump on her belly to rupture the amnion. Sometimes abortions are effected because the woman does not want to kill the baby after it is born. In other cases a man will order his wife to abort if he suspects that somebody else conceived the child.

Several techniques are used to kill a newborn child. The most common method is to strangle it with a vine so as not to touch it physically. Another common method is to place a stick across the child's neck and stand on both ends of it until it chokes. In some cases the child is not given the stimulus to breathe and is simply abandoned. Finally, some women throw the child against a tree or on the ground and just abandon it without checking to see if it was killed by the injuries sustained. One of the New Tribes Missionaries discovered a female baby in 1964 that had been discarded in this fashion and brought her home with him. The baby's face was badly bruised on one side, but she survived. The missionary subsequently adopted her legally and is raising her in England.

The demographic result of the Yąnomamö infanticide practices is that there is a shortage of females.[13] This shortage of females, however slight, assumes greater proportions for a number of culturally determined reasons. That is, the shortage of women is even greater than statistics alone imply because of the practice of polygyny and because of taboos relating to sexual intercourse.

The village of Patanowä-teri, for example, has 122 males and only 90 females (see Table 3–3). But many (about 25 percent) of the politically important men in the village have two or more wives. Hence, many men have no wives. Polygyny, therefore, increases the women shortage because the available women are distributed unequally.

In addition to this, the Yąnomamö have taboos against intercourse when a woman is pregnant or is nursing a child. The taboo is by no means followed to the strict letter, since children are nursed for three years or more—some men sheepishly admit having coitus with a lactating wife. Rerebuwä, whose youngest child is about a year old, told me that he recently tried to persuade his wife to make love. He added: "She told me to go take some drugs and chant to my forest spirits; she is still 'stingy' with her vagina." Hence there is considerable concern within the village over the acquisition and possession of

[13] The frequency of female infanticide must be considerably higher than the statistics in Table 3–3 imply, since warfare results in the death of more men than women. This shows up in the age and sex distribution: There are more males in the younger age categories than females because of the infanticide preferences. As the males get older, however, they are more liable to death in warfare, resulting in a fairly even distribution of males and females in the thirty- to forty-year age interval. Finally, there are more old women than old men, also reflecting the higher male mortality due to warfare. I have published more substantial data on Yąnomamö demography in Neel and Chagnon, 1968.

him that it was used by people of my "group" when they went on raids against their enemies, his interest shifted to our military exploits.

"Who did you raid?" he asked.

"Germany-teri."

"Did you go on the raid?"

"No, but my father did."

"How many of the enemy did he kill?"

"None."

"Did any of your kinsmen get killed by the enemy?"

"No."

"You probably raided because of woman theft, didn't you?"

"No."

At this answer he was visibly disturbed. He chatted for a moment with the others, seeming to doubt my answer.

"Was it because of witchcraft?" he then asked.

"No," I replied again.

"Ah! Someone stole cultivated food from the other!" he exclaimed, citing confidently the only other incident that is deemed serious enough to provoke man to wage war.

Perhaps the best way to illustrate Yąnomamö warfare, its causes, and the techniques of raid is to give a history of the recent military activities of Monou-teri, a small village that split away from Kąobawä's group in the mid-1950s.

A Specific War

The headman of the village, whom I shall call Damowä (since he was recently killed by raiders), was a particularly aggressive man. According to Rerebawä, Damowä was the only fierce man in the entire village, the true *waiawi* (fierce one) of the group.

Damowä had a habit of seducing the wives of other men, a factor that led to frequent feuding in the village and resulted in a number of club fights. Of the numerous affairs he had, two in particular illustrate the nature of possible consequences. His youngest brother was married to an abducted Shamatari girl. Damowä seduced her, thereby enraging his brother. The young man was afraid to vent his anger on the real culprit, his brother, so, instead, he shot his wife with an arrow. He intended only to wound her, but the arrow struck her in a vital spot and she died.

Manasinawä, a man of some fifty-five years at the present time, joined Damowä's group with his wife and young daughter. He fled from his own village in order to take refuge in a group that was raiding his own village, as he wanted to get revenge against them for a wrong they had committed. Damowä, who already had several wives, decided to take Manasinawä's wife from him and add her to his own family. This resulted in the final club fight that led to the separation of Kąobawä's group from the Monou-teri. Manasinawä's wife took the daughter and fled to yet another village. Kąobawä then organized a raid to recover the woman and child when their protectors refused to give them back. The two were taken by force from this group by Kąobawä's raiders. Nobody